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# Daily Report

## Supplement

# Soviet Union

***Congress of People's Deputies***
***Stenographic Record***

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## SUPPLEMENT
### Congress of People's Deputies
### Stenographic Record

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**NOTICE TO READERS**: The Daily Report is publishing the full translation of IZVESTIYA's "stenographic record" of the Congress of People's Deputies. Additional supplements will be issued as translated material becomes available.

**STENOGRAPHIC RECORD**

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## USSR Supreme Soviet Holds Session 3 Jun

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["First USSR Supreme Soviet Session. Stenographic Record."—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text]

### First Sitting of the Soviet of the Union

3 June 1989. USSR Supreme Soviet Hall of Sessions in the Kremlin. 1500.

Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is in the chair.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: We will wait another 2 minutes so as not to put those who still have not arrived in an unpleasant position. We have received information that 238 deputies of the 271 have signed in.

Here is a question we can discuss during that time: When I chaired a session in the congress, notes were sent to me: "Mikhail Sergeyevich, why do you stand up the whole time?" As though I represent a threat and pressure is exerted in this way.

It is general world practice for presiding officers to sit, and in some places they still have gavels. Well, we will do without a hammer for the present, but let us simply agree how we are going to do it. It is a question of the generally accepted parliamentary tradition, not just in my case, but also for the chairmen of the chambers.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Yes, yes, fine. So you see, the discussion was worth it.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Yes, of course. I think that we will have many traditions of our own.

I have announced the figures on those who have signed in. Allow me to open the first meeting of the Soviet of the Union, a chamber of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

First, I would like to extend my warm congratulations to you, dear comrades, on your election to the Supreme Soviet, which is taking up its duties in a very important stage in the development of restructuring.

I am perhaps repeating myself, but I do so advisedly. Today, now that the conception of restructuring is coming into contact with real life, now that restructuring is from the sphere of policy being transformed into practical activity, now that it has entered the spheres of our society's life, now that it has come up against the keen and vital interests of us all, it is confronting us with many important problems. And the main one is how to act so that everything we have begun picks up speed, drives deeper, becomes stronger, and yields positive results.

We felt during the election campaign that the people gave a great deal of support and placed confidence in us all and at the same time imparted to the election and to that election campaign, I would say, a spirit of wholesome criticism and high exactingness. This is all understandable: All of us want restructuring to move forward, to bear fruit more quickly. But at present we not only have not solved those numerous problems which we inherited, but in our own effort we have already committed a number of blunders and oversights. They also have to be spotted, borne in mind, and taken into account.

Today, as a very crucial situation is taking shape, we in the Congress of People's Deputies are undertaking to set up new supreme bodies of government in the country, we are undertaking a more straightforward distribution of legislative and executive power. This is accompanied by processes of democratization both in the sphere of management and the economy and also in the intellectual sphere. It is very important that all these bodies, in this case our Supreme Soviet, find their place so as to perform their exceedingly responsible role in the best way.

During the days that the congress was in session, I became convinced that restructuring is changing people rapidly. How many remarkable people—different, unlike one another, but highly motivated to change things for the better in the country—are pushing forward the processes of restructuring? New people have already been crystallized, as it were. This is one of the ways of renewal of personnel. Restructuring will both generate and shape its own people. We must be realists. You cannot obtain new people just like that, somewhere in a laboratory, away from the processes of restructuring. I have figures to the effect that there has been a large changeover of personnel in our country. Nevertheless, we have seen that the new echelons—both the second and the third—are themselves still unable to immediately understand and find their place; they still do not have the experience to do things in the new way. This is manifested not only in the political process, but also in the economic process and in the management sphere. It is precisely the same for all of our people: Workers, peasants, and intellectuals must structure their lives in a new way under the new conditions, must organize their work in a new way.

In general, we all find ourselves in a process of assimilating new forms. It is very important that this process go faster, more efficiently, more meaningfully, and with fewer mistakes so that we trigger the strong mechanisms which our social system possesses. On that count, I am a convinced optimist. The fact that through the mechanisms of democracy we are bringing our people, the

workers, onto the main roads of restructuring is the greatest guarantee that in the end we will take the situation in our hands, that people will be found for all the jobs, and we will solve the problems facing the country. But let us not oversimplify. The debates have shown how complicated the situation is and how much we have to do.

I hope your activity, dear comrades, will be fruitful, and as chairman of the Supreme Soviet I would like to say that I am open to contacts, to conversations, and to discussion. Let us have a comradely and democratic atmosphere so that we can organize our effort in the interests of the cause. I greet you and wish you great success. (Applause).

While I was speaking, the number of those registered reached 261.

I will exercise my authority to give life to your chamber—the Soviet of the Union, to help you conduct the first organizational meeting, in which you are to elect a chairman of the chamber and on the basis of a brief address which will be delivered by Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov to exchange opinions on the list of commissions and committees. Those are the two items which we must deal with today.

Are there objections to that agenda? There are none.

I turn the floor over to Deputy Yevgeniy Pavlovich Velikhov to make a nomination for the post of chairman of the chamber on behalf of the Council of Elders.

**Ye.P. Velikhov**, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences (from the CPSU): Esteemed Comrade Chairman, esteemed comrades! The Council of Elders met this morning and discussed nominations for chairman of the Soviet of the Union. After an hour-long discussion, during which many questions were asked, and a number of observations made, we all unanimously arrived at the opinion that Yevgeniy Maksimovich Primakov, member of the academy, director of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences, is the most suitable candidate for that position. Indeed, we recommend him to you. He is a member of the academy, secretary of a department of the Academy of Sciences, and he holds a number of responsible positions.

It will, of course, be a serious loss for us, for the academy, but the academy also supports this nomination.

Yevgeniy Maksimovich answered questions during the discussion. We learned from his responses and from his brief statement that he understands the complicated and extremely crucial task of guiding the proceedings of the Soviet of the Union and of performing his constitutional duties and exercising his constitutional rights in the legislative field, in the field of monitoring the budget, and other functions. He understands that all this has to be done now on a completely different and businesslike basis, in the spirit of restructuring, relying democratically both on the deputies who are members of the Soviet of the Union and also on the people's deputies of the congress and on a direct dialogue with the voters.

Those observations which were made by deputies from Siberia and also from Lithuania mainly concerned the work style of the candidate, who is well known. It has to be said that the discussion was aided by the fact that Yevgeniy Maksimovich is well known. Basically, he was given a recommendation that he continue in the future to conduct dialogue more and more, and to listen more to opinions in communication with the deputies.

After an hour-long discussion, we all came to the unanimous opinion of recommending the nomination of Deputy Primakov to you.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Are there any questions to be put to Comrade Velikhov? Yes, go ahead.

**From the floor**: Yevgeniy Pavlovich, were other nominations taken under consideration?

**Ye.P. Velikhov**: Before the meeting of the Council of Elders, other nominations were considered, but it was here that we all arrived at the opinion of the nomination of Primakov, member of the academy.

**From the floor**: You said that Yevgeniy Maksimovich has a large civic load and a great deal of work. Will this not get in the way of his work?

**Ye.P. Velikhov**: This question was raised during the discussion. Yevgeniy Maksimovich understands perfectly well that should he be elected he would relieve himself both of all other civic functions and also his principal job.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**Ye.P. Velikhov**: No, we discussed only his nomination in the Council of Elders.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Although I asked the question of whether there were any other nominations, no other nominations were suggested. Those who took part in the meeting of the Council of Elders can confirm that that actually is the way it was.

You can step down, Yevgeniy Pavlovich.

Here is how we can proceed: to give the floor to Comrade Primakov, to look at him, to listen to him, to ask him questions. Is this proper? If you please, Comrade Primakov. Then we will resume the exchange of opinions.

**Ye.M. Primakov**, director of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences (from the CPSU): Respected comrade deputies! I understand that should I be elected chairman of the Soviet of the Union, then I would have to devote all my activity, my entire life if you like, to work in that position. That is why there is no question whatsoever that I will naturally leave my job and relieve myself of all other burdens which have now been placed on me both in the institute and in the department, as well as in the Soviet National Committee for Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation.

It is my point of departure that the Supreme Soviet has extremely great importance to the transformation of our political structure in the process of restructuring, that both its chambers must take a fitting place in the structure of the popular sovereignty which is now being shaped before our eyes. I think you will not expect of me now any sort of declarations that would add up to a program or conception of the activity of the Supreme Soviet. It would be frivolous on my part to make such declarations at this point. A conception can be worked out only as a result of intercourse, only as the result of discussion, only on a collective basis, involving the participation of all the deputies of our chamber, of course, and all the people's deputies who are not members of the Supreme Soviet and who want to take part in this extremely crucial effort. But I would like to say even now that the Supreme Soviet and our chamber must unconditionally not repeat the way it was before. It cannot and must not be a voting machine. It must be a mechanism of legislative activity, including the making of amendments in laws that already exist insofar as they have not justified themselves when they came up against reality. At the same time, the Supreme Soviet and our chamber must unconditionally watch over the interests of the Soviet people in the process of restructuring. And the way to do that is for both chambers, and our chamber in particular, to exercise oversight, real oversight, over the activity of executive bodies.

These functions were not, of course, inherent in the old Supreme Soviet. Now we are creating a new Supreme Soviet, a new parliament, which must also conduct itself in a new way. Should I be elected, I will apply my every effort to justify your choice to some degree. I thank you for your attention.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Are there any questions? Perhaps you might say a bit about yourself for the benefit of the deputies.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: I was born in 1929, I grew up and graduated from secondary school in Tbilisi, I enrolled in the Oriental Studies Institute; in 1953, I graduated from the Oriental Studies Institute. After that, I was a graduate student at Moscow University, in the school of economics, which I completed. I worked for the radio, and then for a long time on the newspaper PRAVDA. I was its Near East correspondent from 1965 to 1970. While working at PRAVDA, I defended my doctoral dissertation and moved to a job in the Academy of Sciences, where I worked as deputy director of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations. Then I was transferred to the post of director of the Oriental Studies Institute, and, after I worked there for awhile, I went back to the Institute of World Economics and International Relations, where I have been director until the present time. I joined the party in 1959.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: What questions do you have, comrades? Yes, go ahead.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**Ye.M. Primakov**: If you allow me, I might begin with the second question. I feel that amendments need to be made in the present constitution. But this needs to be done, as they say, not on the fly, not directly in accordance with recommendations which arrive right now and we immediately take a vote on them. This is legislative activity that is complicated to the highest degree, but it must unconditionally be done. And there has to be a committee or commission that would concern itself with drafting the constitution.

This unconditionally applies as well to those proposals and those observations which have already been expressed in the congress and which will be coming in from the field. All of this has to be taken most thoroughly into account. In general, I cannot conceive of the proceedings of the Supreme Soviet without real feedback, feedback from the voters, feedback from the people's deputies who are not members of the Supreme Soviet, without feedback from all the workers of our country, feedback from the republics, of course. Even though there is another chamber—the Soviet of Nationalities, it is our chamber that must base its effort on ties to the republics.

And in that connection allow me to answer your second question. I think that those proposals which are being made by the Baltic republics contain much that is worthwhile. They are worthwhile because they are in the mainstream of correcting those deformations which have existed in relations between the center and the periphery in the past. I think that there must unconditionally be a change in the situation in which when the republics perform better (this does not apply only to the Baltic republics), they do not get a real improvement, as it were, in their life. This is the main principle, one of the main principles, which unconditionally must be made part of the foundation for eliminating the deformations that have existed in relations between the center and the periphery.

At the same time, we must, it seems to me, have a serious discussion of the specific questions, the many questions, including the calling in of experts, specialists in the particular field, in order to arrive at results which will

satisfy us all—not only as inhabitants of individual republics or representatives of individual republics, but also as citizens of the great Soviet Union.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Yes, go ahead.

**From the floor**: Tell us, please, as an economist, what conception of the development of socialism you consider most optimal in this stage?

**Ye.M. Primakov**: As an economist, I feel that the most viable conception of the development of socialism, from my own point of view, in the economic field is that conception which leads toward a self-regulating economy.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Comrade Medvedev, if you please.

**R.A. Medvedev**, writer, historian (Voroshilovskiy Geographic Election District, Moscow): I have a purely procedural question. The Supreme Soviet has an ongoing job to do. Will it remain in session until the session of the Congress of People's Deputies is over?

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Absolutely. Because the Supreme Soviet will work on a permanent basis.

**From the floor**: On what schedule?

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Ask those questions if you elect me, then I will have every right to answer them.

**From the floor**: Comrade Primakov, the opinions of the deputies were divided in the congress. These opinions will probably be divided in our chamber as well. Are you someone who favors compromises?

**Ye.M. Primakov**: First, I feel that the main task of the chairman is to conduct proceedings not by taking some position immediately, not by cutting off discussion, not by disrupting the exchange of opinions which are taking place in the chamber. He must conduct things democratically so as to try to find a sound compromise between differing positions.

**From the floor**: Yevgeniy Maksimovich, as is well-known, the proposal was made in the congress to revise the status of the country's Supreme Soviet, that is, to make it a working executive body. How do you feel about that proposal?

**Ye.M. Primakov**: I consider.... Once again I beg you pardon for beginning all my replies with the words "I consider," but you are asking me....

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Yes, at this point it is precisely your own point of view that is needed.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: My personal point of view: The dialectical approach needs to be taken on this. On the one hand, there is no question that the Supreme Soviet is an extension of the congress and is an organ of the congress. At the same time, it must have a number of powers which make it an independently operating parliament. So that is my answer to your question.

**From the floor** (Inaudible).... So, I would like to know how you view the procedural questions....

**Ye.M. Primakov**: It seems to me that we need to take advantage of all forms of voting: the secret ballot, the show of hands, and the roll call vote—depending on which form in each particular case will yield the maximum benefit and facilitate correct decisionmaking.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Yes, go ahead.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).... What bills, as you see it....

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Comrades, I think you will take me for a frivolous person if at this point I lay out for you the entire hierarchy of legislative bills which must be discussed. I also think that this must be the result of our collective discussion, taking the opinions of all the deputies into account. Then, should I be elected, I will present definite recommendations in that regard.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Yes, go ahead.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).... I would like to call your attention to certain words in your speech....

**Ye.M. Primakov**: I agree with you.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**Ye.M. Primakov**: There is also the word "culture" in the name of one of the commissions.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: We are coming to that; we will talk it over.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: It could be that one word is sufficient to respond to the right request.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: The second item on our agenda. We will discuss it. Yes, go ahead.

**From the floor**: We supported your nomination in the Council of Elders. I would like to ask whether you feel that interparliamentary relations should be developed more energetically, not only at the level of the leadership of the chambers of the Supreme Soviet and the International Affairs Committee, but also at the level of our other parliamentarians?

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Undoubtedly, I feel that vigorous interparliamentary connections should be developed, especially, comrades, because this is precisely that area of restructuring where we have achieved very, very great and indisputably great constructive results. We have backed away from the line we had come up to, and we

have now eliminated the immediate threat of a thermonuclear disaster hanging over all humanity. And under these conditions we need to consolidate that progress and go further. Interparliamentary activity is called upon to be one of the channels which will make it possible to perform that task.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Yes, go ahead.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**Ye.M. Primakov**: You see, comrades, it seems to me that if we assume a divergence of opinions on the questions which are now being discussed, and if we bear in mind that we want to make the parliament really effective, a parliament that will competently and professionally analyze all issues and afterward will not be ashamed of the decisions it makes, then we certainly have to make those decisions after serious discussion and vote only when a certain time has passed and we are able to seriously take all the pros and cons into account. It seems to me, then, this is my personal opinion, I do not know what Mikhail Sergeyevich and Anatoliy Ivanovich think about it, but it seems to me....

**M.S. Gorbachev**: I am coming around to the opinion that in general we really need, and perhaps this will be the most important, to create a constitutional commission in the congress.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: I simply concur in the opinion of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet without comment, but I also hold this point of view: to present some sort of first results of the proceedings of that commission to the next congress, which would be held in the fall.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Well, at this point there is nothing to be gained from talking about shortcomings.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Well, what can I tell you? I have a unique hobby—it is to really work. That is what I have done all my life, and to the limit of my strength I have tried to work responsibly in the job I have been given.

If you are interested in my personal life, then I will tell you about it in person.

**From the floor**: How do you view the proposal that the constitution henceforth be subject to a referendum...(remainder inaudible).

**Ye.M. Primakov**: I think that your proposal deserves the greatest attention, because we sometimes put even less important bills up for nationwide discussion. Of course, the constitution will also be discussed nationwide, but as to the form of a vote, I think that these proposals need to be taken into account.

**From the floor**: I have two questions. Your opinion about the formation and organization of a committee on agricultural affairs. I see that there is no such committee in the draft decree. And second, what is your attitude toward the principles governing the formation of committees and commissions?

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Committees and commissions? That is the next item which we will be discussing. But, anticipating, I can tell you that the question of a committee for agricultural policy and food was specifically raised in the Council of Elders and dealt with.

**From the floor**: Yevgeniy Maksimovich! Your opinion on the quantitative makeup of deputies in the Supreme Soviet who work fulltime.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: In general, it is, of course, desirable to have as many as possible.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: A figure was mentioned in the Council of Elders—80-90 percent would work full time.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: That will exactly create the backbone on which we can depend in a full-time operation.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**Ye.M. Primakov**: It seems to me that only the concept of a modern state can have precisely that combination. Because the modern state cannot but rely on a democratic structure. As for my own ideals, I am, of course, in favor of freedom and in favor of communism. I am a member of the party and proud of it. I have never, if I may so put it, denied that title.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**Ye.M. Primakov**: At present, the effectiveness of this discussion, well, let us call things by their right names, is insufficient. I think that the insufficiency of the effectiveness of this discussion arises from the fact that we have not set up structures, in the Supreme Soviet in particular, which could really generalize, analyze, and summarize, there are no structures which are today implementing the feedback I mentioned. Such services must unfailingly be created in the Supreme Soviet from my point of view.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Comrade Lauristin, if you please.

**M.Y. Lauristin**, department head at Tartu State University (Tartuskiy Geographic Election District, Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]): (Inaudible).

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Well, first, about semantics. There exists a quite well-established definition, even so—the great powers. That definition also is current in international practice. I do not think that when someone says a state must be democratic, this exactly carries the connotation that the state is an empire. Of course not.

Now, you ask me—this is your second question—how are the functions to be broken down? Of course, the Soviet of Nationalities must concern itself mainly with the issues of interethnic relations. And, to anticipate, I can say—Comrade Lukyanov will obviously be speaking about this—that here, in the Council of Elders, it was even proposed that the Commission for Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations in the Soviet of Nationalities be designated as the first commission. That is the profile, the main profile or main function of that chamber—the Soviet of Nationalities. In accordance with its own functions, the Soviet of the Union will be dealing with a number of other matters of nationwide importance. But in our case, in the structure of the Soviet of the Union, representation of all the union republics has been provided for—the elections conform to that, as you know. And when questions having to do with the budget and so on are discussed, I am convinced that this must be on the basis of serious discussion with representatives of all the union republics out of a desire to arrive at consensus, to achieve agreement.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Comrade Gamzatov.

**R.G. Gamzatov**, writer (Oktyabrskiy Geographic Election District, Dagestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR]): It seems to me...(inaudible).

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Fine. But still I.... Who especially wants to ask a question? A few more and then we will stop....

**From the floor**: Two questions. The first question. However, what is being formulated there...(remainder inaudible).

**Ye.M. Primakov**: The second one, please?

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).... And the second question: What specific steps do you see to improve the role of the Supreme Soviet? (Remainder inaudible).

**Ye.M. Primakov**: The first question. If we bear in mind that a federation of sovereign states presupposes the existence of state structures, which are, so to speak, entirely based on some purely independent and autarkic, if you like, basis, then I am against that. But at the same time, I am in favor of our republics having all the attributes of sovereignty which do not contradict the principles of their unification to form a single federal state.

I would also like to say in this connection, comrades, that when we speak about the economy in particular, then there are by definition some things which are proposed to the individual republics and which unconditionally suit the needs of development of the economy, of the Soviet Union as a whole. At the same time, there are some general terms, general doctrines to the effect that at present the productive forces require large spaces for their development. After 1992, Europe in general intends to create supranational structures which, they think, will make it possible for them to increase their national income between 6 and 8 percent solely by eliminating economic strip farming.

But this has to be approached very circumspectly, discussed very carefully. We also need to take into account the present state of relations among many republics, and at the same time take as our point of departure the need to eliminate the deformations that existed in relations between the various republics in the past.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Anyone else waiting? If you please.

**From the floor**: I need to determine my position. Can I ask a question in order to accomplish that?

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Go ahead.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).... Do you include in your conception the right of a sovereign republic to have a representative in the United Nations or not? Yes or no?

**Ye.M. Primakov**: With respect to the United Nations, the question is somewhat naive, since after the war the United Nations included not only the Soviet Union, but also the Ukraine and Belorussia. This was achieved as the result of an agreement on the basis of an analysis of the results of the war. I am not sure that the United Nations would be ready at this point to accept into its ranks another 13 representatives from the Soviet Union.

**From the floor**: That is your opinion?

**Ye.M. Primakov**: If you elect me, then to some degree and together with you I will be responsible for the work of the Soviet of the Union, not for the United Nations.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Go ahead.

**From the floor**: Do you consider it possible to revise or adjust the 1989 budget on the basis of the results of the first half of the year and on that basis to solve the most crucial problems...(inaudible).

**Ye.M. Primakov**: It seems to me that that kind of adjustment is indispensable.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: You were starting to ask a question....

**From the floor**: Yevgeniy Maksimovich, your opinion on a number of questions asked in our congress...(inaudible).

**Ye.M. Primakov**: I am not prepared to give a categorical answer on the second question, because that question needs to be examined and discussed. I do not want to appear frivolous here, when in trying to win your support I immediately begin to assume obligations on these issues.

As for the need to adjust the budget, I do think it needs to be done, and above all because we need to raise the standard of living of that portion of our population which unfortunately still has not reached it. And we need to think about the disabled first of all.

**From the floor**: To perform the tasks which have been given him successfully, a leader must be convinced that they can be performed. Tell us, please, are you convinced that over the next year or two we will straighten out our economic affairs and thereby improve the life of our people?

**Ye.M. Primakov**: I think that if we do not improve the life of our people over the next 2 years, then you will elect someone else in my place, because by no means can this be postponed for years and years, and it must not be. But it is a quite different matter, and here if you like I want to speak as an economist, that there are problems of restructuring which are not solved immediately and which require a certain time. But at the same time we must maneuver in such a way as to solve the problems which can improve the life of the people in the immediate future.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Yes, go ahead.

**From the floor**: Yevgeniy Maksimovich, I would like to know what your family situation is. (A stir in the auditorium).

**Ye.M. Primakov**: I lost my wife 2 years ago, and I live alone.

**From the floor**: Alone?

**Ye.M. Primakov**: With my daughter and granddaughter.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**Ye.M. Primakov**: It seems to me that budget control has to be exercised first over the activity of executive bodies, that the budget cannot be automatically approved by the Supreme Soviet. The structure of the budget and the specific amount allocated for particular purposes must go through expert evaluation, must go through discussion, to which aside from deputies of the Supreme Soviet people's deputies would be invited, and, of course, experts and specialists would be specifically invited. That is how it is done, for example, by committees in the U.S. Congress.

To go on. Requests for information are another form, as are the creation of ad hoc commissions, which engage in the study of particular burning issues. For example, one of them might be from my point of view the structure of imports so as to take into account that we have constantly been purchasing an extremely large amount of wheat. This issue needs to be gone into thoroughly so that it is fully understood in all its aspects and a report is made to the chamber or the Supreme Soviet as a whole in the form of a finished and prepared document. Control can also be in the form of invitations to representatives of the executive branch to meetings of commissions and committees, to sessions of the chambers of the Supreme Soviet to present a report. There are other forms as well. On the basis of exchange of opinions, we will obviously arrive at them and make use of them.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**Ye.M. Primakov**: I think that among those legislative....

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**Ye.M. Primakov**: You see that a certain modification has been made, and transportation affairs have been noted in the work of one of the commissions. As for equality, if I am elected, I would precisely like to work on an equal basis with all deputies. So ask questions and criticize both until you elect me and if you elect me.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Just one moment, since at this point there is more than one request for the floor, we could end this part here and ask the comrades to express their judgment. How do you feel, comrades?

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**M.S. Gorbachev**: The last question? It is you referring to it as the last. Nevertheless, I want to debate my proposal. Actually, it is not mine, but yours. Comrades, will we finish up with the questions? All those in favor, please vote. Lower your credentials, please. And against? Nearly everyone is for. Thank you, Yevgeniy Maksimovich, you can take your seat, now we will begin to debate you. Who would like to express judgments? You have the floor.

**V.G. Kucherenko**, chairman of the executive committee [ispolkom] of the Donetsk Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, Donetsk (Donetskiy-Kirovskiy Geographic Election District, Donetsk Oblast): To be frank, the nomination of Comrade Primakov was a pleasant surprise, for me at least. Comrade Primakov is well known in our country, he is also well known abroad, which is quite important for such a post in our Supreme Soviet. Then, this is my own opinion, he is a learned man, sophisticated, calm, and restrained. We have seen him in difficult situations when he showed himself to be decisive, bold, and persistent. In my opinion, that is just the kind of chairman we need. In our present boiling sea, when there are so many differing opinions and questions, I think that it is that kind of man, with that kind of character and position, that can lead us correctly toward constructive objectives. I support this nomination, although, honestly, it was only here that I learned about his nomination, and I was happy to hear about it. I call upon you to support this nomination.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Comrade Alim Ivanovich Chabanov, the floor is yours. Anyone else?

**A.I. Chabanov**, general director of the scientific-production association "Rotor," Cherkassy (Cherkassy Geographic Election District, Cherkassy Oblast): Comrades, I also support Yevgeniy Maksimovich's nomination. I would only like to join you in asking him this question. He is director of an institute. Perhaps it would be wrong to leave that position in haste. Why? What I mean is.... Just a moment, comrades. The Supreme Soviet must have an economics institute. This would be like our economic laboratory. The people in it would work full time. We would all have to go over there. If we are thinking about our work, you understand, then there must be such an institution. If it is created as an economics institute, however it is formed, then we must constantly work there, we must constantly have data on our work. I would also like to speak about certain other persons who are here among us, directors of enterprises or organizations, let us say. As members of the soviet, they do not necessarily have to leave those organizations. This will be a laboratory of our affairs; after all, the important thing is not how much time a man spends in his seat, but what kind of problems he solves and what he gives to the Supreme Soviet.

That is the principal criterion.

That is why I suggest that Yevgeniy Maksimovich consult with Mikhail Sergeyevich. We need that kind of tool. If it does not exist, in the end we will have to create it. So, that would be convenient, and it would not diminish his role. I repeat, what makes work important is how a man works, what results he achieves, what he gives us and proposes, not how much time he spends in his seat without moving. Thank you for your attention.

**V.A. Gubarev**, deputy director of the pilot experimental machinebuilding plant "Neftetermmmash," Severskiy Rayon (Crimean Geographic Election District, Krasnodar Kray): Respected comrade deputies, respected candidate for the position of chairman of our chamber. It is no accident that I ask you whether you believed in compromise. Comrades, we all observed the proceedings of our congress and took direct part in them. In my view, a bad tendency was suggested when the opinions of many deputies representing a minority were simply ignored by a show of credentials. And then many people, turning around and looking toward the Moscow group, called out: Where was science? After all, there are scientists among the deputies, both here, in the congress, probably, they have some sort of constructive proposals. If we wave our credentials to vote without giving them the floor, then in 10 years, when we get into the next blind alley, we will begin to ask where they were. That is why I think it is quite important that the chairman of our chamber be someone who knows how to listen to various groups. We do not, comrades, have competing parties in the country, and this rostrum is the only platform for the statement of the policy of the people. And if you and I refuse to listen to the opinion of all our deputies, I think we will never extricate ourselves from the blind alley. When I heard the reply of the candidate for that position, then, I was very satisfied with his answer, and I will vote for Comrade Primakov. Thank you for your attention.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: I would still like opinions to shape up a bit.

**Voice from the floor**: (Inaudible).

**K. Salykov**, first secretary of the Kara-Kalpak Oblast Committee of the Uzbekistan Communist Party, Nukus (Turtkulskiy Geographic Election District, Kara-Kalpak ASSR): I think that the first speaker was right when he said this was a pleasant surprise. As a matter of fact, the very approach to settling the matter is very interesting. In my view, he meets present-day requirements, which means the scientific approach. We are now making the transition from administrative methods of management to economic methods. As a matter of fact, there is a need to meet here more frequently with leading comrades and to debate certain issues. Just take the burning issues raised in the congress. I myself am a first secretary of the oblast party committee and often meet scientists, and this is what I say, Mikhail Sergeyevich, about the March plenum of the Central Committee. No sooner was the plenum adjourned than one person is interpreting it one way, another some other way, one has one understanding of state orders, another some other view, and so on. That is why it is really good for us to have in the parliament a scientist with whom it is possible to meet and talk and argue. This is a very important matter.

Of course, in my view, his general human erudition and culture, which are up to the international level, are also important. He will represent our parliament with dignity in any parliament, in any country. There is no doubt about that. For example, I support the nomination. I think that this support will be correct. Comrades have come out in favor of alternatives and so on, but I think when a good candidate is found, there is really no need to press for an alternative candidate as well. If there is some opinion, this can be talked about separately, but I call for support of this nomination.

**E.Yu. Yusupov**, vice president of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences (from the all-union society "Znaniye"): I have known Yevgeniy Maksimovich for almost 15 years. He is a very important scientist, he has prestige not only in our own country, but also in many foreign countries. He is the author of numerous publications on international economics. What is more, a man who has a perfect mastery of a number of foreign languages. So if we elect Yevgeniy Maksimovich chairman of the Soviet of the Union, he will without question solve many problems effectively that have to do with our country's internal life, but also many problems which have to be solved in the international aspect. Aside from that, he is a very democratic, principled, and exacting man. He does not have the kind of dictatorial qualities of someone who would impose his ideas on others. I have never noticed such qualities in him. We have communicated a

great deal, we have been in foreign countries together. We have discussed together scientific conceptions and taken part in symposiums. I have always admired his democratic spirit, his patience, the attentiveness with which he is able to listen to the opinions of other people.

Aside from that, comrades, I think that he must leave his Institute of World Economics and International Relations. Because that institute is very important, it has a great number of problems related to the study of international economic life, which is complicated at present. Comrades, we are now making the transition to a new stage, we must have in the post of chairman a man who is not tied up with other affairs. He must devote himself completely to this job so as to win prestige and recognition of the people in his new post.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Ivan Dmitriyevich, then the floor will go to you.

**People's deputy** (did not introduce himself): Comrades, I think that today there is no other nomination to be discussed. But I have a small request and these instructions: As far as I have been able to learn, in Moscow there is more than one school of thought about restoring our economy to health. I wanted to ask the question, but we had already moved on to the discussion. I think that Comrade Primakov knows about the existence of the association of economists on restoring our economy to health, which in general proposes real and fundamental measures to restore its health. And I would like it if in discussion of these very important economic matters a hearing is given to the opinion of all, even such associations. That is the first instruction. The association is headed by Kats Adolf Iosifovich, doctor of economic sciences.

Second, an important instruction from a group of deputies who are from agriculture—do not abandon the agricultural question in the initial stage of our effort, since this is one of the most important problems of our society.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Comrade Laptev has the floor.

**I.D. Laptev**, editor in chief of the newspaper IZVESTIYA (from the CPSU): Respected comrade deputies! I have come to this rostrum because I have had occasion to observe the activity of Comrade Primakov in a wide variety of situations: in negotiations, while he was working outside our country, on various kinds of trips, and during unrestricted discussions in work collectives. I have observed him as he carried out various kinds of measures. That is why when we discuss his work here as a scientist or talk about him as a scientist, let us nevertheless say that we are talking about a political figure. I want to say with full responsibility that as a political figure Comrade Primakov, in my opinion, will for us be a very reliable and very strong chairman of the chamber. I call upon you to support his candidacy.

**From the floor**: I have a question.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: I will recognize one more deputy, and we will end with that.

**From the floor**: I have an important request for the future chairman of our chamber. We have all become convinced that our Soviet parliament is taking its first timid steps, and as a matter of fact there are blunders and mistakes. And it is a very good thing that for a man who knows the international practice of parliamentary proceedings to be the leader of our chamber. After all, the content of proceedings may be socialist or bourgeois. But the forms, the procedures, are either democratic or conservative. Either clear and reasonable or unintelligible. I think it is a good thing in the first congress, in the first session, for us to have a healthy argument, to make choices on positions and on procedural and other matters. But hereafter we need to summarize the world experience of parliamentary proceedings and not wander around in the dark. You will agree with me, the parliament of Great Britain has traditions going back centuries. Perhaps something useful could be found there?

I think that if professionals come to head our political institutions, this is a good thing. The times are gone when a man could first manage a bathhouse and then the culture. At this point, let a man with a good economics education, a man who knows international parliamentary practice, be the leader of the Soviet of the Union.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: I feel that you are insisting, so I will ask: Are there objections?

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Introduce yourself, please.

**S.N. Khadzhiyev**, general director of the scientific-production association "Grozneftekhim" (Groznyy Geographic Election District, Chechen-Ingush ASSR): What impresses me is that Primakov is a scientist, a major specialist. I do not know him personally, but I have seen him very often on television. You know that Yevgeniy Maksimovich often speaks on international topics. But I would like to clear up several questions. Because aside from the economic problems, the food problems, and the housing problems, we have to solve one of the most important problems—and that is certainly the ethnic problem. This was evident during the congress.

Before we vote, then, I would like to ask you another question, Yevgeniy Maksimovich. If the Supreme Soviet should petition the United Nations to accept our other 13 republics as members of the United Nations, would you be for or against?

**Ye.M. Primakov**: I would be for. But I can tell you in advance that the problem is a difficult one.

**S.N. Khadzhiyev**: That is another matter. That is what I wanted to know, and now I will vote for you.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Comrades, we can bring the discussion to an end. I put it to a vote: Who favors electing Comrade Yevgeniy Maksimovich Primakov chairman of the Soviet of the Union? I call upon you to lift up your credentials. Please lower them. Anyone against? None. Who abstained? There were three abstentions.

So, Comrade Primakov is elected by an overwhelming majority. (Applause).

**Ye.M. Primakov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, takes the chair.**

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Comrade deputies! First allow me to thank you sincerely for the trust you have placed in me and let me assure you that I really will do everything not to disappoint you in your choice.

Now we move on to operational matters. With respect to deputies. I would like to say that a rather democratic procedure was suggested by Mikhail Sergeyevich today in the meeting of the Council of Elders, that the chairmen of both our chamber and the Soviet of Nationalities themselves, after the necessary consultations, propose their deputies. And then this matter will be discussed and decided by the respective chambers. In keeping with the USSR Constitution, two deputies will be proposed in each chamber, in the Soviet of the Union, and in the Soviet of Nationalities.

The agenda calls for taking up in today's session the formation of standing commissions and committees of the Soviet of the Union. I turn over the floor on this question to Comrade Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov.

**A.I. Lukyanov**, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet: Comrade deputies! The Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities elect from among members of the Supreme Soviet and other people's deputies of the USSR standing commissions of the chambers to do legislative work, for preliminary examination and preparation of issues that come in the jurisdiction of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and also to promote enforcement of laws and other decisions made by the Congress of People's Deputies and USSR Supreme Soviet, and to monitor the activity of government bodies and agencies. Thus states Article 122 of the USSR Constitution.

It should be said that for those same purposes the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet may create on parity principle committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet as well as other commissions and committees. In order to settle the question of the creation of commissions and committees, above all of the Soviet of the Union, the Presidium of the congress did a great deal of analytical work. All deputies were sent a questionnaire and draft of the decree with a list of commissions which could be created. At the same time, each deputy was asked to say which commission he would like to work on.

More than 1,800 deputies responded to that survey. And it should be said that 80 percent of them fully supported those proposals concerning commissions that were contained in the draft decree and they said that they would take part in one of the commissions. Some said that they could take part in two commissions. Others also named two commissions, but said that a choice could be made: They were ready to work in one of them. Approximately 12 percent of the responses contained revisions in the list of commissions or proposals as to their configuration and so on.

What was our point of departure in evaluating those proposals? First of all, that the membership of the chambers is small—271 deputies in each chamber. And if we increase the number of commissions to a very large number, we simply will not be able to guarantee that each of them would consist of half and half members of the chambers and people's deputies of the USSR who are members of the congress. At the same time, we assumed that the commissions could not be associated with sectors and branches; in that case, they would coincide with the names of ministries and departments. And that would get in the way of their parliamentary activity, parliamentary profile, and parliamentary functions. Third, subcommissions or subcommittees that would deal with particular matters in a more narrow scope will undoubtedly be created within commissions and committees. And finally, we assumed that when commissions are created in one chamber, it should be taken into account that commissions of a different scope will be created in the other chamber, so that committees should be created jointly by both chambers.

In short, a comprehensive approach is needed to this problem. That is why today in the meeting of the Council of Elders of the two chambers we examined all the commissions and committees very thoroughly. You now have those documents in hand, and I would like to tell you about the work that was done on them, what corrections we have made, and then present them for your consideration.

First, about the standing commissions: It proposes forming an equal number of commissions in each of the chambers—four each. But the Soviet of the Union is to take up nationwide matters, and the Soviet of Nationalities matters which have more to do with development of the nationalities, the union republics, the autonomous structures, and so on.

That is why in the Soviet of the Union the proposal calls for forming the planning, budget, and finance commission as well as the commission for problems of industrial development, including fuel and energy, technology, and many other matters (subcommissions will evidently be created here). The third commission is for affairs of

transportation and communications. It replaces the commission for food affairs in the draft decree. (Instead of that commission, we decided to propose to you the creation of the committee on agricultural affairs and food.) Transportation and communications, as you realize, are actually a nationwide subject. And it must be in the jurisdiction of the Soviet of the Union. And finally, the commission on labor affairs, prices, and social policy. This question was discussed particularly thoroughly. It is after all a question of the individual's employment rights being protected and guaranteed regardless of where he lives. Prices have the most fundamental nationwide importance. And a strong social policy is a most important component in the policy of our state as a whole.

Thus, the formation of four standing commissions of the Soviet of the Union is being proposed. This proposal is being presented for your consideration.

As for the Soviet of Nationalities, the first thing being proposed is formation of the commission on interethnic relations. It will evidently have a number of subcommissions, in particular a subcommission on affairs in the development of small nationalities. This is extremely important: not only the nationalities of the north, but also other nationalities of our country which are not numerous. The next commission is on affairs of the social and economic development of the union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, and okrugs. This is approximately the same as the planning, budget, and finance commission, except that it is looking at the republics and our autonomous structures. It is clear that these commissions will be working together rather often. Then about the commissions related to those branches of the economy which are now being entirely transferred to the jurisdiction of the republics. These are the following: the Commission on Consumer Goods, Trade, Municipal, and Consumer and Other Services to the Population and the Commission for Questions of the Development of Culture, Language, National, and International Traditions, and Protection of the Historical Heritage. Our premise was that the roots of our multinational culture in the end lie here, in the development of each nationality. It is actually formed from the cultures of all nationalities. That is why the commission on culture is included among the commissions of the Soviet of Nationalities.

Finally, about the committees: As has already been said, they will be created on parity principles by both chambers. Certain changes were also made in the draft decree on committees during discussion in the meeting of the Council of Elders, and I would like to comment on them. (Each of you has a list of the committees.)

The proposal calls for creating the committee on international affairs, which will also embrace foreign economic matters, interparliamentary relations to some degree, humanitarian relations, and so on. Then the committee on defense and state security. There was a lengthy discussion, and the decision was that these matters are so closely connected that they need to be brought together.

The next committee is on legislation, legality, and law and order. Although it would be occupied to the maximum with legislative projects, with sharpening legislative formulations, it is still very important for this committee to be involved with legality and with questions of law and order, for it to be able to observe how laws are being enforced, to monitor this as well as the activity of law enforcement agencies. Otherwise, purely legislative effort would make no sense. Especially since the other committees would be concerned with legislative matters. In response to numerous proposals of deputies, a committee is formed on the work of soviets of people's deputies and on development of management and self-management. It has to be said that many proposals have been received on it, and the deputies support its creation. The next committee has also been included on the basis of proposals of the deputies and those rough outlines and principles stated in the report to the congress of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. The reference is to the committee on economic reform. The planning and budget commission and the commission on social and economic development of union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, and okrugs would work in the closest contact with this committee.

In the meeting of the Council of Elders, it was deemed advisable to include the committee on agricultural affairs and food in the list proposed to you.

**From the floor**: Agricultural policy?

**A.I. Lukyanov**: We discussed that question. Policy can be the business both of the party and the state, of everyone. This specifically concerns agricultural problems and food. That was our agreement in the meeting of the Council of Elders of the chambers.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: There were objections, comrades, specifically to the word "policy." It was proposed that it be replaced by the phrases: agricultural problems, agricultural affairs.

**A.I. Lukyanov**: Next is the committee on construction and architecture. There were also many proposals in this case. Some people said that we should provide only for urban construction, others said that in this case our attention would be taken away from rural construction. They proposed that it simply be called the committee for construction affairs, not including architecture. But we feel that the proposal made by Comrade Platonov, first secretary of the board of the USSR Union of Architects, is correct: It should be called the committee on construction and architecture. There was thorough discussion of the question of the committee on science and public education. As a result, it was proposed that this name be

given to it in the meeting of the Council of Elders: committee on science, public education, and upbringing. This is probably correct. It makes sense.

The Academy of Medical Sciences presented a proposal on creation of the committee on protection of the health of the people. It embraces the entire range of problems of health. The question also came up of the name to be given to the committee on women's affairs. In this case, the concept of the family was omitted. But our constitution speaks about the state protecting the family, about strengthening it. That is why it has proposed that this committee be called the committee on affairs of women and protection of family and children.

To go on: The committee on affairs of veterans and the disabled, the committee on youth affairs, the committee on the environment and optimum use of natural resources, and finally, the committee on civil rights and petitions. I must say that the question was taken up of whether we really needed a separate committee on rights? But the deputies came to the conclusion that such a committee should be created and would be closely related to those proposals and grievances that the Supreme Soviet will receive (even now about 500,000 are coming in every year), so that there might be an immediate reaction to those violations of the rights of citizens which may occur. The Supreme Soviet must take the position of protecting in every way the legal rights and interests of the Soviet individual.

Those are the committees which are proposed for joint formation by the two chambers. And, if the question of the standing commissions of the Soviet of the Union can be decided now, then the proposals on the committees (if the chamber approves the list of them with the corrections referred to above) must be submitted to the Soviet of Nationalities. If it accepts those proposals, then the two chambers will jointly decide which committees must be formed in the USSR Supreme Soviet. The only thing I would like to add is this: In its everyday activity, of course, the Supreme Soviet will create a whole range of commissions and groups—for investigations, audits, and so on.

One more consideration. It is a practical impossibility to draw some kind of line between the commissions. It is also impossible to create a great number of them. But as a rule, as experience has shown, they work together in deciding a number of related matters.

These are the proposals which I present for your consideration. They are based on the proposals of the deputies and are being submitted on behalf of the councils of elders of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Comrades! Let us begin with questions. Are there any questions? Please.

**From the floor**: More than 200 delegates representing public education in the USSR met together to discuss questions, and a decision was adopted to create a separate joint committee of the Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities on public education and upbringing. Was this question raised, and how was it resolved?

**A.I. Lukyanov**: This question was discussed very carefully, because many deputies expressed this stand: It would be wrong now to separate public education from the higher educational institutions [VUZ]—this means science, for more than half of our science is concentrated in VUZ's. Therefore it has been deemed expedient to call it the committee on science and public education.

It was pointed out in the chambers' Councils of Elders that, although we teach, we educate rather badly. This is why it was proposed to call this committee the committee on questions of science, education, and upbringing. But this does not prevent us from setting up three subcommissions on these questions within this committee.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Please, a question.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**A.I. Lukyanov**: This question, too, was discussed carefully, the question of the political reform. If we said: a commission on questions of the political reform, that would be just the same as a commission on creating the new USSR Constitution. At the congress it is proposed to form a commission to revise the constitution—Mikhail Sergeyevich spoke of this today—and, naturally, all questions of the political reform will be included here for examination by the commission on revising the constitution and its creation. Although certain questions of the political reform—for example, the soviets of people's deputies and management and self-management, questions of the protection of citizens' rights and legality—are already enshrined in these commissions.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Please, a question.

**From the floor**: Anatoliy Ivanovich, briefly with regard to the commission on transport and communications, in outline. The main resources and the main return in developed countries now come from information science. It would be expedient to have a commission on information science, transport, and communications. This is an extremely important package of questions.

**A.I. Lukyanov**: This is an interesting question in general. It would be possible to call it the commission on transport and telecommunications. Or on transport, telecommunications, and information.

**From the floor**: Right, on information.

**A.I. Lukyanov**: Well, it must be discussed. That is why we put this proposal to you.

**From the floor**: We have discussed interethnic problems in the corridors here. As is known, they are very complex. The idea has emerged that there is clearly no way we can avoid constantly discussing these questions in both chambers. Would it not be expedient to set up a committee on national problems not at chamber level but at Supreme Soviet level?

**A.I. Lukyanov**: I think that many questions will be discussed together—for example, economic questions, questions of local soviets and nationalities, and so forth. But still, from my viewpoint, the profile of the Soviet of Nationalities must be sustained. This is very important; it is a great advance made at the 19th party conference.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: So, please.

**From the floor**: Anatoliy Ivanovich, what prompted you to accommodate the consumer goods commission precisely in the Soviet of Nationalities, and not in a committee? These are statewide questions after all, are they not? We regard them as national....

**A.I. Lukyanov**: We were guided by three elements above all: By the concept which has already been published for nationwide discussion, which hands these questions over to the republics. That is the first point.

Second. The union will still be involved in introducing economic accountability, self-financing, and so forth. Budget planning and financial questions will be here. But, all the same, the responsibility and, most importantly, the management of these questions—and here comrades from the Baltic republics have repeatedly proposed this—have, in my opinion, been resolved correctly. This must be in the republics. And whoever ensures himself better will be in the vanguard.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Comrade Ryzhov, please.

**Yu.A. Ryzhov**, rector of the Moscow S. Ordzhonikidze Aviation Institute (Leningradskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug, Moscow City): Which of the committees or subdepartments will deal with the question of the mass media?

**A.I. Lukyanov**: We discussed this question and decided for the time being not to make a special note of this, because the mass media will be a question running through a whole series of commissions. Take, for example, the commission on legality and legislation. It will have to create a law on the press. Then another committee will tackle a whole series of questions of protection of citizen's rights. That is, by specially creating this committee now, we would artificially wrest this topic from a whole series of commissions. We will see. If this is necessary, the Supreme Soviet or its chambers will always be able to create such a commission. Let us see in practice. Perhaps we can create a subcommittee or subcommission somewhere.

**From the floor** Anatoliy Ivanovich, a group of Leningrad deputies submitted a proposal to create a committee on appointments to top state posts. As far as I know, that proposal was also supported by a number of Moscow and other deputies. Was this question discussed? If it was not discussed, I resubmit this proposal.

**A.I. Lukyanov**: The question was discussed most carefully. The point is that the committee on appointments to top state posts is, in fact, every committee and every commission. It is perfectly clear that the appointment of the chairman of the State Planning Committee will be linked with the commissions, with two commissions—on budget-planning financial questions and the commission on the republics' development. It is perfectly clear that the committee on questions of defense and state security will be linked with top appointments to these posts, and so forth. Likewise, the committee on international questions will be linked with the appointment of a whole series of officials for work both in the Soviet Union and abroad. That is, we have made it possible to examine these questions in greater depth and in broader outline. And this is recorded both in the constitution, as you know, and in the decisions of the 19th party conference.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Do you have a question? Please.

**From the floor**: I received a reply to a question connected with culture, but I am not satisfied.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: You know, I will only ask you to ask questions, comrades, and to make statements later. You will have an opportunity to express your viewpoint. If you have a question, please ask it.

**From the floor**: A commission only on questions of culture in a package with other questions, only in the Soviet of Nationalities, does not satisfy me.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: But that is not a question, it is a statement. **From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Fine. Please.

**A.I. Lukyanov**: I will only say at once that at first we made this decision: a commission on science, education, culture, and upbringing. But then during the discussion the deputies themselves nonetheless proposed moving culture from here to here—to the national question. That includes art, culture, protection of monuments, and so forth. This should be emphasized. On the other hand, it will always be possible to discuss this in any other commission. For example, appropriations for culture will, of course, be discussed by the budget-planning commission, and a whole series of other questions will be discussed in other commissions and in Supreme Soviet committees.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Please.

**From the floor**: Was this question not discussed? Well, we know about the role of scientific and technical progress, its place and significance. We have somehow ended up with a commission on science—that is, a committee on science—and a commission on problems of industrial development. We have split up this question. For there is also fundamental, sectoral, and VUZ [higher educational institution] science. Somehow these questions were not discussed before....

**A.I. Lukyanov**: I must say that in this case we would increase the number of commissions but would resolve little, because the Supreme Soviet committee on science and technology that used to exist, for all my respect for it, was still forced to incorporate a commission on industry, a commission on transport, and so forth. Clearly, questions of technology and scientific-technical progress are concentrated in the commission called the industrial development commission.

And second, commissions on the economic reform. These two aspects must be here.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Please.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**A.I. Lukyanov**: I will speak only about what is proposed. After we have adopted the resolution on the formation of the commissions, the chairmen of the chambers together with the deputies will create the backbone of these commissions on the basis of what you yourselves have written, and you will vote. It is proposed to include in them half the members of the chamber and half the USSR people's deputies making up the congress. It is perfectly clear that the commission or committee chairman, the committee secretary, and, perhaps, another three or four people must initially be released from all duties and must work on the committee. The remaining comrades will combine their work with work on committees and commissions. I will say that if we only create purely professional committees divorced from practice and the land, we will drain them of blood. The composition will be approximately 40-45 people, or perhaps 35-40 people. It all depends on what the deputies themselves propose. I must say that I at once ascertained, for example, that very many people wanted to join a number of committees, while some committees are still not full. For example, such a committee was the committee on nature conservation. An intelligent collective farm chairman and a plant director are needed on it, and it needs a politician and party leader. We must have a look. And I believe that deputies will have sufficient wisdom to form such committees, so that they work.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Please.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**A.I. Lukyanov**: During the last break I was subjected to an attack by the women's committee, which said that "childhood" must be set apart, because "childhood" must be tackled separately. Still, comrades, it is hard to tear "childhood" away from the family and the mother. Therefore we would like to create a single commission for women's affairs and protection of the family and children, so as to have subcommittees there. I have no doubt that there will be a subcommittee for children there.

**From the floor**: I have a question. All the commissions begin in a specific way: the commission or committee for questions of.... And just one: on construction, on problems of industrial development.

**A.I. Lukyanov**: Well, in my opinion, "question" and "problem" are one and the same. Let us call it this: on questions of industrial development.

**From the floor**: And another question. The question is not clear whether there is a commission or a committee on the power industry.

**A.I. Lukyanov**: Yes, in industrial development there will definitely be a subcommittee or a subcommission on the power industry, as there was. But I want to say to you, comrades: Why "on questions"? Perhaps we can dispense with questions altogether? No. The point is that there is, all the same, a parliament with its own sphere. Name a committee without "questions," and you will almost repeat the name of a certain ministry.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Please.

**From the floor**: Anatoliy Ivanovich, please tell me. You have spoken of setting up a constitution commission, too. What will this be?...

**A.I. Lukyanov**: I believe that it must be a commission of the congress, not of the Supreme Soviet. The question is too big. A constitution commission formed by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. Because only the congress can alter the constitution.

**Ye.M. Primakov**. Just a moment.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**A.I. Lukyanov**: A commission is so named only because it is formed by a chamber, whereas a committee is an organ created by the two chambers along lines of parity. Only for that.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**A.I. Lukyanov**: The point is that in a considerable part of the country credentials commissions tackle questions of immunity, and you have seen that our credentials commission has tackled this immunity. In addition, under the Law on the Deputy's Status, the Supreme Soviet

Presidium stands guard over immunity. Further. The Supreme Soviet, too, is now involved in ensuring the deputy's legitimate rights. During a session the Supreme Soviet alone can deprive a deputy of immunity. And finally. I wish to say that the question of a committee on the ethics of relations was also discussed. At a session of the chambers' Council of Elders we agreed for the time being not to create this committee after all, because in many of the world's parliaments this is dealt with by the chambers' chairmen and deputy chairmen, and where such committees on ethics do exist relations among deputies are quite bad. I believe that our democracy will create a mechanism of good, cultured, and ethical relations among deputies. But, if necessary, we will create one and do something.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**A.I. Lukyanov**: I have already answered that. Both the commission on culture and the commission on human rights and other commissions will tackle this. It was proposed not to create a special committee on this question in the chambers' Council of Elders.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Please. One moment, comrades. Keep in order.

**A.I. Lukyanov**: No. You will recall that this proposal has already been made.

**From the floor**: I remember the proposal, but it was not discussed.

**A.I. Lukyanov**: How was it not discussed? A proposal was submitted to have a special committee. I read it out: a special committee on questions of the press. Not on questions of information and glasnost, but on the press. This is the second time I have answered you on this.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Comrades, let us reach exact agreement, because we have a huge number of questions to discuss. Let us do this—only those whom I ask to speak will rise and ask questions. Otherwise it will be hard for us to work. Please.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**A.I. Lukyanov**: I agree with you that the name of the commission on problems of industrial development is not very precise. Let us think, because there is here....

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**M.S. Gorbachev**: That is a pretty good name.

**A.I. Lukyanov**: Yes. Although it does not include power engineering, and that is very important to us.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**A.I. Lukyanov**: Well, industry does not always mean the power industry. Do you understand? And, second, as regards the commission on standing order: I am perfectly sure that as soon as the chambers embark on joint work they will set up a commission to prepare standing orders, and the chambers' chairmen and the Supreme Soviet Presidium will monitor their fulfillment.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Who else wishes to ask a question? Please.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**A.I. Lukyanov**: I would like to say, comrades, that we discussed this question. The point is that in our country it is impossible to separate finances from plans. The budget is the financial formulation of our plan outlines. And so it is proposed to create two commissions: one commission for general questions, so to speak, in the Soviet of the Union, and the other—for questions of profile—in the Soviet of Nationalities. They will, of course, work in contact with each other, but we must take a comprehensive approach to planning and financial questions. If, as is done in a number of bourgeois countries, we confine ourselves just to budget questions, we will forget about the very important specific nature of the socialist planned economy.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**Ye.M. Primakov**: No, comrades, if someone insists on questions, they must be given an opportunity to ask them. Please.

**From the floor**: Comrades! Our press—newspapers and magazines—and also radio and television publish and transmit a lot of materials every day, containing very valuable and businesslike suggestions and criticisms. There is not a single institute in our country where articles in the press are defended. They are mainly the opinions of working people. What about creating a commission where these very valuable working people's suggestions would be studied and even approved.... (Inaudible).

**A.I. Lukyanov**: From my viewpoint, all commissions must work for this if they want to be linked with the public.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Questions, please.

**From the floor**: If there are 30-40 people on a commission, as can be seen from your reply, will 5 or 6 deputies be working permanently?

**A.I. Lukyanov**: No. As Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said, 80-90 percent of the deputies elected to the Supreme Soviet will work on it permanently.

**From the floor**: We must—perhaps not today but over the coming week—define how we will work in order to know what those who will not be working permanently are to do.

**A.I. Lukyanov**: I believe that this question will be resolved as soon as the question of the commissions' personnel and numerical composition is resolved.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Comrades, I urge everyone to ask questions now only on the commissions, if possible, and on the committees. Please.

**From the floor**: Please say how many USSR people's deputies not elected to the Supreme Soviet will be incorporated in the commissions and committees. How will rotation by one-fifth and early withdrawal take place in them.... (Inaudible).

**A.I. Lukyanov**: I can say that, according to my calculations, at first the commissions will include approximately 400 USSR people's deputies elected to the congress. Subsequently they will be rotated.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: That is, in all approximately 800 deputies come to light on the commissions and committees.

**A.I. Lukyanov**: Yes, 800.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Half of them are members of the Supreme Soviet, and half USSR people's deputies. And, in addition, remember that I have said that, since we plan for USSR people's deputies to be involved in work all the time, we must, perhaps, ensure that one of the deputy chairmen of a committee or commission is a people's deputy. For they have an equal voice on the commissions, but they no longer have the casting vote when participating in sessions of the chambers.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).... Then third-class deputies will also appear.

**A.I. Lukyanov**: In general, I am categorically opposed to any division of deputies into first, second, and third classes. Then I must remind you here that, in addition to these commissions, there will also be others operating. We have already created at the congress 3 commissions, each of approximately 20 people. And all kinds of groups have been created at the congress.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: A constitution commission, for example, will be created.

**A.I. Lukyanov**: Yes, there will be a constitution commission, and there will be a mass of other assignments. As far as I know and as we propose, three deputies' commissions will be created under the Supreme Soviet Presidium: on pardons, on awards, on citizenship. That is, no one is more interested in involving deputies in all this work than the Supreme Soviet Presidium. And no one is more interested than we in ensuring that deputies are not divided up into any categories.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: So, does anyone else insist on questions? Well, please ask them.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible). The Committee on Defense and State Security Questions. Please say whether this committee will control the activity of state security organs, or will the KGB remain uncontrolled?

**A.I. Lukyanov**: Definitely, because questions of state security come within its competence, and the KGB will come under the control of that parliamentary committee.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: In this connection, clearly, it will have a special status, as in all parliaments.

**A.I. Lukyanov**: That is, the nature of this committee's sessions too, let us say, and it will, perhaps, have somewhat fewer members [sentence as published].

**From the floor**: I have this question: Proposals to create a commission or committee to study public opinion have been heard in speeches at the congress. What about them?

**A.I. Lukyanov**: I believe that this question concerns all commissions and all committees. A special data bank will be created for this, and it will have access to the data banks of ministries, departments, and institutes. The study of public opinion must be placed on the very highest level. Both a direct link and feedback between the Supreme Soviet and the population must function very well.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Please.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**A.I. Lukyanov**: From my viewpoint, people will address these questions to the committee on rights and citizens' appeals—first. Second, to the committee on questions of the economic reform. Third, industrial cooperatives to the commissions on these questions. Cooperatives connected with services for the population—to the corresponding commission. Complaints will be made to the committee on safeguarding the people's health against cooperatives in the sphere of health care. And so forth. That is, specialists must take a concrete look at every case every time.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Well, some will complain, and some will support.

**A.I. Lukyanov**: Of course, because I believe that it would be wrong to take an unequivocally negative attitude to cooperatives.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Comrades, perhaps two more comrades will ask questions, and we will end there? Do you agree?

**Deputies**: We agree.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Please.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**A.I. Lukyanov**: There are two commissions: The commission on questions of labor, prices, and social policy—all-union questions; and a second commission, which will examine questions of the economic and social development of republics and regions. And, finally, the committee on questions of the work of soviets of people's deputies and the development of management and self-management, that is, the regional plan will be included here in full. Although Mikhail Sergeyevich rightly said that the committee on questions of the economic reform will tackle these matters in particular detail.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: And the final question, please.

**From the floor**: Which commission will resolve the question of export-import collaboration?

**A.I. Lukyanov**: If they are international questions, they will be resolved in the committee on international affairs, which will create a number of subcommittees for this.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: So, comrades, before proceeding to the discussion, I would like to reach agreement on the following. Perhaps we will introduce this procedure, which exists in many of the world's parliaments: We allocate a definite time to questions and to discussion and keep clearly to this schedule?

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Because like this we will have endless disputes, and no one is interested in that. Let us now allocate a definite time to discussion, because the answers to many questions have already been received and, in general, the discussion has already taken place to some extent. How much time do we need to continue it?

**From the floor**: Half an hour.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Half an hour for discussion. Are there other proposals? Obviously there is no need to vote. If we conduct the discussion for half an hour, we will vote on these questions, and then we will have nothing more on the agenda. Then it will be possible to dispense with a break. Please.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Please, you can come up here if you want.

**V.A. Shekhovtsov**, deputy dean of the law faculty of the Far Eastern State University (Vladivostokskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]): The point is that I submitted a proposal at the session of the Council of Elders, but it was not taken into account. I would like to reason and cite arguments.

Comrades! You understand that the very name predetermines the functions of an organ of a committee or a standing commission. I draw your attention to the third committee—the very important committee on questions of legislation, legalities, and law and order. I have already explained that legislation is the sum total of laws and normative acts. What will this committee tackle? Will it really analyze existing legislation? No.

You understand, the corresponding commissions and committees will in their own sphere look at which law to adopt, discuss and prepare a draft law, and see which must be altered. Then the constitutional oversight committee will verify the norms of current legislation from the viewpoint of their compliance with the constitution—this layer of relations is also being tidied up. Right? That is, what do I propose? I believe that it must be formulated somewhat differently—the committee on questions of legislative work or on questions of legislative activity. Precisely that committee will receive proposals from the commissions and other committees, and it will be necessary to hone legal formulas here. Because the quality of the law will depend on these formulas. You and I have been convinced, I hope, that the essence suffers, the cause suffers because of all these "as a rule's" and various reservations. Right? Therefore I believe, Anatoliy Ivanovich, that this amendment relating to questions of legislative work must, all the same, be adopted.

**A.I. Lukyanov**: Unfortunately, I cannot agree, because all the committees and all the commissions will tackle legislation with the participation of this committee. If we write only "legislative work," then it alone will legislate. Do you see? We have already had the Legislative Proposals Commission, which considered its right to legislate to be a monopoly. All committees and all specialists must participate. The legislation commission, which participates in this work, and others will be responsible for honing formulas.

**V.A. Shekhovtsov**: Then I propose another option. On questions of improving legislation. That is, it will not examine legislation there in a static state, but questions of altering legislation.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Fine, it will be possible to examine this. I give the floor to Comrade Samarin, a deputy not on the USSR Supreme Soviet.

**V.I. Samarin**, own correspondent of the newspaper ORLOVSKAYA PRAVDA (Orlovskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug, RSFSR): Esteemed members of the

Supreme Soviet, this is what I would like to say. In my opinion, suggestions have been made both at the congress and by voters that it is necessary to create a commission or a standing committee to monitor the activities of organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the KGB, and the Armed Forces.

The point is that the committee on defense and state security and another committee—I have forgotten now what it is called—are connected with the elaboration either of certain military concepts or of the concepts of combating certain antistate manifestations, and so forth. But I believe that deputies must definitely have control over their work.

The law and order committee is quite another matter. It formulates proposals for making changes to legislation, and so forth. I mean the committee which will monitor or, to put it more broadly, protect the rights of citizens and the state against manifestations which might appear. Incidentally, the events which occurred in Tbilisi and in Armenia indicate that the Supreme Soviet must, without fail, exercise very strict control here. And not general control, but precisely control by a commission. This is my proposal.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Thank you. Please, Deputy Revenko has the floor.

**G.I. Revenko**, first secretary of Kiev Ukrainian Communist Party Oblast Committee [obkom] (Belotserkovskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug, Kiev Oblast, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic): I believe that we are all now agonizingly seeking how best to organize the work of the Soviet of the Union. These are my views.

First. Not to be in a hurry with the number of commission members. To reserve the right to ensure that it is not a rigid number. Time will suggest to us how each commission will begin its work and how busy it will be. This is important, because many comrades think that by remaining in Moscow they have lost their voters. I am afraid that those deputies who remain in Moscow will find themselves under the same pressure as we find ourselves today from our voters. Therefore a very balanced approach must be taken to the question of who will be here and who will be there. And I would ask the chairman—you, Yevgeniy Maksimovich—to observe this flexibility for the time being, so that we are not in a hurry to define 45, 50, 70, and so forth.

Second. I would consider it necessary for the time being to proceed from smaller to larger, and not from larger, so as not to return later to smaller.

Further, I believe that such a number of commissions must show today that we are in a businesslike mood, because if we increase their number people will say: They are approaching in number those same ministries. Therefore I submit a proposal, which I impose on no one: to confine ourselves for the time being to what we have created. And the possibility of work on subcommittees (there will be as many of them as life dictates) will enable us later to orient ourselves correctly in those questions which are of concern to many people. I favor such a number of commissions and committees.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Thank you.

**Yu.V. Golik**, dean of Kemerovo State University Juridical Faculty (Tsentralnyy Territorial Electoral Okrug, Kemerovo Oblast, RSFSR): Comrades, I know that very many proposals have been voiced regarding the creation of commissions to monitor the activity of the KGB, Prosecutor's Office, and Ministry of Internal Affairs organs. One has just been heard here. I do not think that we need to do this, and here is why. When we make up our minds to ask for something and to take control of something, let us try to renounce not the old world, as such, but what I would call the old, servile mentality. Any commission and any committee that we set up will have the right to monitor the activity of any department that falls within that committee's sphere of activity. That is why there is no point in creating a special monitoring body. That would disperse both our forces and our attention.

Moreover, I cannot agree with my colleague Shekhovstov's proposal regarding the need to change the formulation of the committee on legislation, legality, and law and order. Viktor Afanasyevich, I consider your proposal to be simply unsatisfactory. For the simple reason that, according to your proposal, questions of law and order will, whether we like it or not, fall outside this committee's activity. That should not happen on any account. Moreover, the very questions of monitoring the activity of law enforcement organs will also fall outside its activity. I would be extremely unwilling for this to happen. That is why I propose retaining the present title and confining ourselves to that.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Please.

**From the floor**: I was thinking of the committee on legislative work, legality, and law and order, that is, the two remaining functions are to be retained.

**People's deputy** (unintroduced): Esteemed chairman! Esteemed deputies! Women and children have traditionally been linked together for many years. That seems quite natural. There has always been a single commission responsible for the protection of mother and child.

Many questions relating purely to women have indeed accumulated today. These include international cooperation involving Soviet women, Soviet women's participation in political and social activity, the social status of women of various groups involved in production, working women's working and living conditions and health, and so on.

Moreover, children's problems form a very vast range of problems and they are, incidentally, not only linked with women and mothers.

Lastly, there is a vast expanse of problems relating exclusively to children, ranging from upbringing to ecology, crime, and so on. That is why we have upheld very ardently indeed here at the session of the two chambers' Councils of Elders the idea of creating two independent committees—a women's committee and a committee for the family and children. But since it has already been proposed to set up 14 committees, it is senseless to increase their number even further. That would complicate the work of the Supreme Soviet. Evidently it makes sense to agree that there should be a single committee dealing with the affairs of women, the family, and children but that it should be divided without fail into subcommittees dealing with women's affairs and the affairs of the family and children.

There is another request asking for these committees to be formed so as to ensure that women alone do not have to shoulder all the aforementioned problems and their solution.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Good. Please.

**Yu.N. Shcherbak**, writer, secretary of the Ukrainian Writers Union Board, Kiev City (Shevchenkovskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug, Kiev City): Esteemed Yevgeniy Maksimovich! Esteemed deputies. I spoke at the session of the Council of Elders and I simply want to repeat what I said, because my proposal was not accepted. I did not, like my colleague who spoke here, agree with the name of the commission on problems of industrial development. I comsider that a rather outmoded title. I propose creating a commission on problems of industrial and power engineering development. Since I proposed creating a nuclear regulation committee there, it might be advisable to create a subcommission for nuclear regulation and the security of technological systems under the commission for industrial and power engineering development. There would then be an independent organ within the Supreme Soviet to monitor these high-tech systems. After Chernobyl we know the consequences of lack of monitoring in these matters. It is absolutely essential to ensure that this organ is outside departmental jurisdiction and independent of the Council of Ministers.

I have another proposal. All the proposed commissions make no mention of the word "religion" or "faith," although this is a very serious question that cannot be ignored. I propose creating a commission for questions of the development of culture, language, national and international traditions and the preservation of historical monuments and faith. Thank you.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Please.

**Voice from the floor**: We have completely overlooked transport. Yet this involves motorized, railroad, river, maritime, air, and even space transport. That is why I am asking for the commission to be called "transport and communications." It should prevail. If there are any doubts, put this question to the vote.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Good. We will create a commission entitled as follows: the commission on problems or questions of the development of industry, power generation, machine building, and technology. Another commission will also be created. It will be called the commission for questions of transport, communications, and information science. Are you satisfied? Good. Thank you. Who else wants to speak? Go ahead.

**V.I. Kirillov**, senior scientific staffer at Voronezh Polytechnical Institute, Voronezh City (Leninskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug, Voronezh Oblast): I am not a member of the Supreme Soviet. I am a congress deputy. I come from Voronezh. I want to say that information science generally incorporates the problems of the country's computerization and creation of a unified data and program bank. I think that this question, which is, so to speak, in a quite embryonic state in our country, should be assigned to a single individual committee or commission on information science.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Comrades, before I give the floor to the next speaker, I want to provide the following clarification. First, we will, of course, have subcommittees and subcommissions. That is why many questions will be designated in the form of existing subcommissions and subcommittees. If we create either individual commissions or individual committees on each of the important questions we have raised here, we will either duplicate the executive structure or we will have such an unbelievably large number of committees and commissions that all the Supreme Soviet's work will dissolve utterly and completely.

That is why I am asking you merely to take this into consideration. I am also asking you to take another element into consideration—the fact that corrections and amendments will be made and this system modernized after we begin our work. We will come to all of this. For now, let us start to work, and don't let us begin now by breaking down what has been proposed. In view of the comments that have been made, the proposal enables us to create a good foundation to begin our work... Thank you.

**A.S. Yezhelev**, chief of the IZVESTIYA Leningrad office, Leningrad City (from the USSR Union of Journalists): My proposal is in the spirit of your recommendations. Since Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov told us at the Council of Elders that no unanimous opinion was reached on the question of creating a committee on questions of glasnost and the work of the press and the mass media, I subscribe to Deputy Lauristin's proposal at this session to extend the functions of the committee

on questions of economic reform designated here, make it a committee on questions of economic and political reform, and have a subcommittee within the framework of this committee on glasnost and the work of the press and the mass media.

In this instance I am also fulfilling the instructions of all deputies from the Union of Journalists and many deputies from other creative unions. I ask you to examine this proposal and urge you to support it.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: I am afraid that we are "throwing out the baby with the bath water" in this formulation of the question, comrades, because economic reform is the main thing now, it is what we need. And.... What are you saying?

**Voice from the floor**: Don't breach the standing orders. You do not have the right.... to speak....

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Why are you depriving me of that right?

**Voice from the floor**: (Inaudible). If the chairman provides a commentary every time, there will be no session.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: No, comrades, one minute.... Let us come to some agreement, naturally, I will not take up too much of your time, but I do not see the work of chairman only involves giving someone the floor. Please....

**I.P. Zelinskiy**, rector of Odessa I.I. Mechnikov State University, Odessa City (Odesskiy-Leninskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug, Odessa Oblast): We heard the words "protection of citizens' rights" over and over very often during meetings with voters. Yet these words do no appear in the proposed titles of our committees and commissions. That is why I propose changing the name of the third committee on the list to read as follows: committee on questions of legislation, legality, law and order, and protection of citizens' rights. (Noise in the hall). I am proposing what my voters told me.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: So, thank you....

**People's deputy** (unintroduced): I would like to touch on three things.

First. I do not agree that we should have a committee on economic and political questions because we should make policy by creating the relevant laws. That is our policy. We are not a party, we are a parliament. The party should tackle political questions. We—most of us are Communists—will engage in policy within the party but we should deal with laws here. There should be a law on the press if necessary, and the law will provide for all policy on the press. That is my attitude. That is why the wording "committee on questions of economic reform" is correct, in my opinion.

The second thing that I would like to mention is this: The point is that we are once again stubbornly veering toward the sectoral principle. Have you noticed? We have added one sector, a second, and a third.... Unfortunately, that is still how we think at present. I believe that we should not strive for the sectoral principle, that it is not a mandatory principle in life. I think that we should choose questions that are of fundamental importance for our country today—sectoral and nonsectoral. In any case, none of us here imagines that we do not have the right to set up additional committees in the future if necessary. The arrangement is not meant to last forever. It seems to me that we only need to elect those committees that are of fundamental significance for our country now. After 3 or 4 or 5 years some of these committees will fall by the wayside and new ones will be set up—that is progress.

My third question concerns chairmanship as practiced in parliaments. I categorically object to the present method of running the assembly. In my opinion, it is the chairman's job to ensure strict observance of the procedure of our sessions. In my opinion, the chairman has the right to sum up and, so to speak, express his opinion at the end of every question. But he does not have the right to correct everyone who expresses an opinion. In that case the chairman receives greater rights than any other deputy. I elected him only to moderate the daily work schedule correctly, and I do not give him any more rights than myself. Thank you.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Thank you.

**B.N. Nikolskiy**, editor in chief of NEVA journal, Leningrad City (Smolninskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug, Leningrad City): Comrades, I think that the creation of a committee on questions of glasnost would be of fundamental significance under current conditions because glasnost is one of the main assets and achievements of restructuring and because the further deepening of the country's democratization is inconceivable without glasnost. That is why glasnost itself needs to be deepened today and legally defended. Glasnost still has no legal protection today. It depends in many respects on the individual rather than on the law. Comrades, it is surely no secret that we usually follow routine reshuffles in the Politburo with much more agitation and, I would say, trepidation in our hearts than, say, the appearance of any new resolution.

The most heated disputes are flaring up today namely around mass media organs and their role in the restructuring process. The most varied viewpoints are clashing here. Questions of creating new press organs affiliated to social movements and organizations are also assuming no mean significance. This question was frequently raised by voters during the election campaign. The congress also raised the question of making the appointment of the chief editor of IZVESTIYA and the chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting the prerogative of the congress or the Supreme Soviet. The committee on questions of

glasnost could probably examine these candidacies. That is why I think that we should return to the question of creating a special committee on questions of glasnost and mass media organs. Thank you.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Thank you.

**A.A. Sobchak**, chief of the Leningrad State University Juridical Faculty Department, Leningrad City (Vasileostrovskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug, Leningrad City): I would like to voice my opinion on the committees' spheres of activity—without increasing their number. Questions of glasnost and the activity of the mass media are indeed such today (we Leningraders sense this particularly after recent combined Leningrad Oblast and city party committee plenums, where questions of glasnost and the work of the mass media were presented in a quite distorted form) that it is now the mass media that are in need of particular monitoring by deputies. I propose the following solution to this question. The committee on citizens' rights and appeals should be given the following title: committee on glasnost, mass media activity, and citizens' appeals. The question of citizens' rights should be transferred to the committee on questions of legislation, legality, law and order, and defense of citizens' rights. Then everything would be set to rights and we would encompass the most important questions of glasnost and mass media activity without increasing the number of committees.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Thank you.

**From the floor**: Esteemed chairman, esteemed members of the Supreme Soviet, I would like to submit a proposal. I took part in the work of the Council of Elders session. Unfortunately, my proposal did not get through there. But I would like to repeat it here. The point that union republics, autonomous republics, okrugs, and oblasts will be represented in the work of the commissions. But, unfortunately, large administrative areas (on an oblast scale) which are the central link with our regional policy will not be represented at all in the Soviet of the Union. In my opinion, that would be incorrect. That is why I am proposing that a commission on regional policy and the economic and social development of krays, oblasts, and economic areas should be created within the Soviet of the Union to ensure that the Soviet of the Union takes part in elaborating regional policy and regional development policy and resolving various interregional problems and reflects the interests of the largest krays and oblasts. If you consider my proposal impossible, then, in view of Yevgeniy Maksimovich's proposal, subcommissions should be created to consider this question somehow within the Soviet of the Union. Namely the fact that this kind of compone ' falls outside our attention within the complex.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Thank you very much.

**D.G. Smirnov**, engineer and designer at "KhEMZ" Production Association, Kharkov City (Kharkovskiy-Moskovskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug, Kharkov Oblast): Comrades, I can see that we are forgetting all the time that we are also the people who will set up these commissions and committees, make timely changes, and so on. Why are we discussing this now? Let us begin with what we have. If we do not like it, we will change everything at the next session. What about the congress? It is the Supreme Soviet that creates its commissions. One thing, I would like to support Deputy A.A. Sobchak's speech: He formulated the name of the committee in a splendid fashion. His words should be used in the wording so that people can see right away what specifically the committee is engaged in and where to appeal.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Thank you. Next.

**From the floor**: I would propose slightly amplifying this title: committee on human rights and citizens' appeals. Human rights incorporate, correspondingly, those rights that Comrade Sobchak mentioned. As for glasnost and the mass media, an individual committee, if any, should be created on these questions. Thus you can simply add to the title: committee on human rights and citizens' appeals. Analogies exist in virtually all Western countries' parliaments....

**Ye.M. Primakov**: I have been bullied too much to be able to react directly to all this. Please.

**M.Y. Lauristin**, director of a Tartu State University department (Tartuskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug, Estonian SSR): Since I was described as the author of the proposal to combine economic and political reform in a single committee, I will say first that I did not propose that. I proposed something else—I proposed including the contentious issue of glasnost in the mass media in the committee on questions of the work of the soviets, management, and self-management (as a subcommittee), because the problem of the development of the media and the development of glasnost and democratization is part of social management just the same. We can see now how important it is for the entire problem of feedback in our society and information flow to accord with democratization. This should be incorporated in a special committee rather than dispersed round various committees, as has been suggested to us. I consider the linking of this question to citizens' appeals to be wrong, because citizens' appeals consist of letters, specific complaints, and so on. I am asking for it to be included in the committee on management so that problems of the press and the mass media and the development of glasnost are examined as a whole.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Thank you. Please.

**From the floor**: I propose leaving the title of the committee on women and protection of the child and the mother. (Inaudible). Let us not forget those women who rear children. (Inaudible).

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Comrades! The last two speeches, because we agreed....

**From the floor**: Comrade deputies, I fully support the speech (inaudible) arguing that management and self-management cannot be developed without glasnost and democracy. That is why other mass media must also be subsumed under the glasnost subcommittee.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Thank you.

**B.Kh. Blayev**, director of Tyrnyauzskiy Tungsten and Molybdenum Combine (Kommunisticheskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug, Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic): I propose electing a commission presidium in every commission.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Fine, a brief statement. You have another minute, please.

**From the floor**: I have a very short speech. Comrades! If we are saying that democracy is the voice of restructuring, we are depriving this democracy (inaudible).... We should create a separate committee subject to (inaudible).... Monitoring the mass media. Because (inaudible)...this is a problem relating to the separation of functions and is above all a problem for our deputies. State power should take this problem in hand. It is an important problem, the problem of democracy.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: So. Have you all had your say? Ivan Dmitriyevich, please.

**I.D. Laptev**: (Inaudible). However much monitoring of glasnost in the mass media is examined.... Our country's experience shows that any committee, as soon as we set it up.... (inaudible).

Let us consider this further. Let us have a look if we need to. But my own experience indicates that any new formation does not help but restricts....

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Good. A last speech. Please.

**From the floor**: We had a single commission for culture and education quite recently, comprising representatives of both chambers. We have today for some reason separated culture from education and switched them to one chamber alone. I reckon that problems of the Soviet person's culture and upbringing are directly linked with education. This even begins before education. The isolation of education from culture today...(Inaudible). Every Soviet person needs culture today, starting from the day he is born. This is a major factor, and we are seeing its results today—the lack of culture—even at our congress. That is why, as a representative of culture, I consider that this question covers a kind of vast order of creation encompassing a great deal including music, painting, culture, and literature. We now have millions of representatives in these fields. I believe that (inaudible) gradually, instead of giving culture greater significance we have somewhat belittled it.... Even in relation to the previous period of USSR Supreme Soviet activity.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Thank you. Comrades, we have held a fruitful exchange of opinions and very many questions have been raised and answers followed. Because my instructions as chairman spoke of the need to seek solutions that combine all opinions, so to speak, and find compromises and so on, I would like to make certain changes in the light of our discussion.

But first let us agree to vote separately on the Soviet of the Union draft resolution on the permanent commissions and separately on the committees, if there are no objections. Right? Then I propose the following. You have the draft USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union resolution in your hands. There are the following amendments: The budget and planning commission stays as it is and there were no serious objections to that. Next: the commission on problems of industrial development. A correct proposal was made here to exclude the words "industrial development" and the following title was proposed instead: commission on questions of the development of industry, power generation, machine building, and technology.

The next commission is the commission on questions of transport, communications, and information science. Next, the commission for labor, prices, and social policy. Following our debate, that is the—amended—form in which it is proposed to ratify the Soviet of the Union draft resolution on the commissions.

I ask you to vote. Those in favor? Please lower your hands. Those against? Two against.

**From the floor**: A separate question. A question of fundamental importance. Information science is a broad concept.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Yevgeniy Pavlovich (turns to Velikhov), despite the fact that you nominated me for this post, I will not allow you to reopen the debate. All right? Two people against. Any abstentions? No abstentions. The resolution is carried.

We now move on to voting on the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union draft resolution on the formation of USSR Supreme Soviet committees. The following amendment has been proposed as the result of our debate....

I will read out first all the items where no change is proposed: International Affairs Committee, Committee for Defense and State Security Questions, Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, Committee for Questions of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and the Development of Management and Self-Management, Committee for Economic

Reform Questions. Next—Committee for Agrarian Questions and Food. Next on the order paper: Committee for Construction and Architecture Questions. Then, an amendment: Committee on Science, Public Education, and Instruction. Next, Committee for the Protection of the People's Health. The next committee title has also been amended: Committee for Women and the Protection of the Family and Children. (Noise in the hall). It was mother and child. People advocated introducing the concept of the family here. Let us render it as follows if there are no objections: Committee for the Affairs of Women and of Family, Mother, and Child Protection. (Noise in the hall).

**From the Presidium**: Family, mother, and child.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: There can be no mother and child without a family. So. Let us begin with the family. Protection of the family, mother, and child. Next—Committee for the Affairs of Veterans and Invalids, Youth Affairs Committee, Committee for Questions of Ecology and the Rational Use of Natural Resources. The next committee name has been amended: Committee for Questions of Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Appeals.

**From the floor**: Human rights.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: No, ...rights. Republics can also have rights. Come on, human rights.... There are also a citizen's rights and so on. Come on, in general.... I am not proposing to amplify. It is proposed that the USSR Supreme Soviet draft resolution "On Committees" be adopted in that form.... What? The last. "Committee on Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Appeals." What?

**From the floor**: (Inaudible) Let's vote on it. Let us vote for the first committee....

**Ye.M. Primakov**: No, Comrades. Well, alright. It is proposed that we vote on each committee. One minute, one minute.... We have received a proposal, let us vote on it. Who is in favor of this? I ask you to raise your hands.

**From the floor**: In favor of what?

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Voting on each committee in succession. Clearly no majority, comrades. What? Another proposal? Yes, please.

**From the floor**: We have a democratic process; how is this possible? I may agree with this comrade, but not with others. But we are trying once again—on the whole. (Inaudible).

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Allow me, comrades. Certainly, your proposal is understandable.... But I want to say that the name of the committee now, the elaboration of the names of the committees is, I believe—and maybe I am wrong and then you will correct me—but I believe that this is not the kind of question that requires, so to speak, voting by name or separate voting on every committee. We agree that there will be subcommittees and subcommissions. We are giving the maximum consideration to all the comments that nave been made in the wording and names of the subcommissions and subcommissions. Well? Let us vote on the whole issue, especially since that is how the majority feel. Then we can announce all this right away. One moment, comrades! Let us observe procedure. We will report everything just the same. We will tell the Soviet of Nationalities everything that we adopt now, and the Soviet of Nationalities will examine it, and we will then adopt it all at a combined session of the chambers. Understood? So let us nevertheless now give way to the minority, hard though it is—to those who are proposing a vote on everything. Right? You have a question? Please. Is it procedural? If not I will not give you the floor.

**From the floor**: It is procedural!

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Please.

**From the floor**: My question is more for Anatoliy Ivanovich. If our chambers vote differently, won't it be necessary to have a coordinating committee?

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Absolutely. If the chambers vote differently, one will be set up, and even if the commissions vote differently, comrades, that is how I see this matter. Certainly Anatoliy Ivanovich also thinks that, if there are commissions that sit together on the same question, for instance, on the budget...and if these commissions have differences of opinion, a coordinating commission will be convened. Of course, this will enter into practice. But I don't think that there is any point now in convening and piling up these coordinating commissions on all questions. So.... I will put it to the vote, comrades. Who....

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Well you realize, comrades, that we have already finished our discussion—physical education and sport are of tremendous significance in our country, I realize, and we do also have other proposals of equally great significance. But when we speak about physical education and sport, we can direct all comrades to the Committee for the Protection of the People's Health on these questions.

So, comrades, your attention, please! Comrade deputies! We are voting on the question of adopting the USSR Supreme Soviet draft resolution "On USSR Supreme Soviet Committees"; this question will then be passed on to the Soviet of Nationalities, because the first question falls within our competence and we simply have to acquaint them—the Soviet of Nationalities—with it. We will pass on the results of our vote here along with the document to the Soviet of Nationalities.

I ask those in favor to vote. Those against? One, two, three.... Three against.... Five against. Any abstentions? Seven abstentions.

The Supreme Soviet resolution is adopted. As I have already said, it will be handed on to the Soviet of Nationalities. I have a few announcements now. First, I have received....

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**Ye.M. Primakov**: A point of order, please.

**From the floor**: I have the following proposal to make: Several deputies spoke several times on the same question. Maybe we should introduce into our work the practice of not allowing repeat speeches on the same question until everyone who wishes to speak on all questions has spoken.

**Ye.M. Primakov**: That is a correct proposal.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**Ye.M. Primakov**: I agree with you.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible). Second. It is very hard to work in an auditorium. It is sometimes necessary to simply ask a question. Is there provision for installing microphones at every desk?

**Ye.M. Primakov**: There is—as soon as possible, moreover. Now, any more points of procedure? Please.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible). I ask you to hand over there....

**Ye.M. Primakov**: Good. I will do that. Thank you Now, since certain questions linked with the standing orders for our work have been raised I would also like to read out a note, signed by Supreme Soviet deputies; despite its anonymity it raises quite interesting questions, which I think are important: "We submit a request from members of the chamber asking deputies not to come to sessions wearing sporting gear in the future. This amounts to disrespect for all of us." Let us introduce parliamentary norms for a truly respectful attitude for all of us and our voters. Now, comrades, I think that we need to consider the standing orders for our work altogether, which should also include this proposal—to give those who have not yet spoken the right to speak first, observe the time allocated for speakers without fail, and then determine the time for debate in advance in order to keep within that time.

Comrade deputies, the joint session of the Soviet of Nationalities and the Soviet of the Union will be held Tuesday 6 June at 1000 hours in this hall. There are plans to examine questions regarding the appointment of the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and also of the USSR Supreme Soviet committees at that joint session. I declare the Soviet of the Union session closed.